Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 voice to the hekurá and constantly passed his hands from his head
[782] to his feet. His brother Kurikayawõ repeated each of his words
[788] and imitated the gestures (511). Around the four men, who were

511. This was again the symbolic transmission of the prayers from the hekurá to Porẽ/Perimbõ (see also p. 228).

now officiating as priests, crouched red-painted warriors whose head hair was completely covered with the down feathers of the gavião-real. Whenever the Pakidái chief poured a new mixture of bone ashes and urucú into a larger jamaru vessel, he always pulled a few feathers from the heads of the warriors and threw them in (512). The closest relatives of the late deceased sat

[751]

512. There is defensive magic connected with this. For if the men, in the subsequent ceremonial drinking of the banana soup mixed with bone ashes, swallow these feathers, they and their families are better protected against sickness.

behind the warriors and sobbed heart-rendingly, especially the
[782] women. Their tears /106/ flowed uninterruptedly, and at the same time they prayed in a low, singing cadence. When the bone ashes of another jamaru vessel were mixed with urucú by Porẽhiwõ, their sobbing and their prayers changed to high, shrill tones. This made no impression upon the medicine men, however, who imperturbably went on with their activity. The
[302] mourners were surrounded by a circle of standing warriors painted
[301] red and adorned with upper-arm feathers, who held bows and arrows in their hands and faced outward. It was their task to shield
• [522] the ceremony against harmful outside influences. Behind them stood numerous male spectators, who followed the proceedings with interest, to be sure, but without inner participation, for at times they laughed and joked.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers
[622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village,
[156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the
[582] villages to which Kąobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kąobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kąobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relation-
[622] ships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[583] He does not intend to stay in Kąobawä's group and has not made a garden. He
[591] feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an
[837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked
[593] him with a club. Rerebawä was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother
[578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

[829] Despite the fact that he admires Kąobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kąobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good
[522] side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yąnomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and